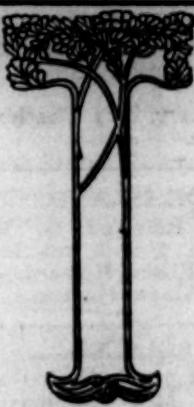


The Woman's Protest

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

35 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 2
No. 3



Debasing Social Influence of Equal Suffrage

Significant Interview With Wage Earners

The California Situation

Suffrage Claims Refuted

JANUARY
1913



Subscription, \$1.00 a Year

Single copies, 10 cents



Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 1, 1912, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., Under the Act of March 3, 1879

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EQUALITY OF SUFFRAGE MEANS THE DEBASEMENT NOT ONLY OF WOMEN BUT OF MEN

By John R. Dos Passos.

I NEVER could bring myself to discuss earnestly the question of woman suffrage. I have always run away from it, hoping secretly that it would die out naturally as many other agitations. But it now looms up in such great and, to me, dreadful proportions that I believe one can no longer abstain from regarding and treating it as a vital political and social issue. By marvellous worldwide organizations, by enthusiasm approaching a religious or fanatic frenzy, the women who advocate female suffrage have brought the subject into the front row of public questions. And its opponents have done practically nothing—hoping I suppose, as I have, that the movement would die out—but it will not down.

I approach the question with all predilections in favor of woman's rights—as one willing to go even to extreme lengths in her behalf, and I therefore enter into this field of discussion as her advocate rather than as her opponent.

Preliminarily, I regard it as extremely unfortunate that the friends of female suffrage should have raised the question at this epoch in the history of the English-speaking people. It is not propitious. It is precipitate. The time to open it is when some great wrong is about to be committed against her — when her property or her personal rights are being violated—when some ruthless and unjustifiable intrusion upon womanhood is attempted—then she might come forward and truthfully say: "Our situation calls for radical remedies." But no such conditions exist. There never was a time in the history of the world when the rights and property of women have been so safe-guarded. She not only stands before the law as equal in position and influence to man, but she is a preferential subject, so to speak.

She enjoys more privileges and for all practical purposes she ranks higher before the law and in society than a man. But it is answered that this is based upon sentiment and she even disdainfully rejects sentiment—she wishes equality by statute. But in this connection she makes a fundamental mistake. The aim of government is the happiness and prosperity of its people. If they are protected without written law so much the better. A nation cannot be judged by its laws. The gist of the inquiry is—are the people contented

and protected in the enjoyment of their rights and property? If that proposition can be answered affirmatively it matters very little under what form of government they live—they have attained the substance of social organization. The greatest prop to any government is the moral sense of the people—sometimes called "sentiment." It is preferable to govern a nation by a vigorous healthy sentiment than by discordant laws. I maintain, therefore, that at this juncture in our history there is nothing to justify women in advocating political suffrage for the sole purpose of protecting her rights. Indeed it may be termed (without offense) ungrateful. She should be thankful for what she has—not claim more. It must be remembered also in this connection that if she be victorious, she will inevitably lose many advantages and privileges which she now enjoys. The very fact that she does not enjoy full political suffrage can always be used for her advantage. But if she gain political equality she can enjoy no privileges which sentiment now confers upon her—which hangs over her like an aureola. And she must inevitably accept political equality. Accordingly, as a mere practical proposition, her victory will mean her defeat, and with it, I am equally sure, will come the destruction of her moral, social, domestic and sentimental influence, far more important than full political rights.

Another preliminary thought is this: That the movement in favor of suffrage has not been inaugurated or sustained by any considerable body of women. The weight of numbers and of intellectual and moral character is against the demand. I grant that since the movement began many true and noble (but, I add, I hope without offense), misguided women have joined the ranks, but

taking the active propagandists of the movement as a whole, I affirm that they do not fairly represent the great body of American women. The latter do not want suffrage, but on the contrary they positively reject it. This demand for female suffrage is forced; it constitutes in no sense a revolution. It is not a popular uprising. It has none of its aspects. It is an immature political growth. Com-motions and pageants should never be mistaken for a gen-

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VOL. II. JANUARY, 1913, No. 3

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

ENCOURAGING REPORTS AT ANNUAL MEETING.

The first annual meeting of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was held December 10th, 1912. There were delegates present from eleven State Associations opposed to woman suffrage. The meeting was devoted to election of officers, changes in Constitution and By-Laws, and reports of the work accomplished in the past year by the different State Associations. The president made a report of plan of work and policy for the ensuing year, and stated that associations would be organized in several new states in the near future. In spite of suffrage victories in Oregon, Kansas and Arizona, much encouragement was expressed by the overwhelming majorities against suffrage in Ohio and Wisconsin, and the defeat in Michigan by the small majority after it had been reported that the voters of that state had endorsed woman suffrage.

REPORT OF INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY AT ANNUAL MEETING OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

A National League for opposing woman suffrage was formed in Germany last May. It has met with great interest and encouragement in all parts of the Empire, and at once aroused intense indignation among the suffragists. The first leaflet, issued during the summer by the new society, contains a spirited answer to the verbal attacks directed against it.

In the early spring the newspapers announced that Chinese women had been granted the franchise. This statement appears to have been premature. It has since transpired that the native suffragettes marched into the Provisional Assembly sitting at Nanking, with a petition that the suffrage laws of China, then in the process of being drawn up, should include votes for women. Their petition being refused, they followed the example of their British sisters by shouting and breaking a few windows. Finally, in order to put an end to their continued importunities, the Assembly passed a resolution in favor of woman suffrage, and recommending similar action to the future National Assembly, the actual legislative body. It was this resolution, a purely academic expression of opinion, which was heralded far and wide as the granting of suffrage to Chinese women. But when the National Assembly convened in July, and was petitioned by the suffragists to ratify the resolution of the Provisional Assembly, their answer was in the negative. The Suffrage Act, passed in the same month, gives a vote to male citizens under strict prop-

erty and educational limitations, and makes no provisions for women's votes.

In England, the suffrage movement may be said to be blocked, for the time being—if not actually retarded, as many persons believe—by the policy and acts of the militants. Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, President of the British National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies, who has repeatedly repudiated and deplored the riotous proceedings of the suffragettes, notably of November, 1911, and March, 1912, predicts the utter failure of any woman suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill (the Government's plan for Universal manhood suffrage), if militancy should be continued. The lawlessness of the suffragettes during the past year has taken the form of a window-smashing orgy on March 2; of systematic following up of Cabinet Ministers, whether favorable or opposed to woman suffrage, in a series of petty naggings, interruption of speeches, and dangerous assaults; of attempts to set fire to a dwelling and a theatre; of flinging dangerous and deadly missiles without much discrimination.

Following the window-smashing of March 2, which was the result of a deliberately planned policy by the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union, Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence (Miss Christabel Pankhurst having evaded the police and gone into hiding) were arrested on a charge of conspiracy—the legal term for inciting other persons to lawlessness and disorder. Their trial lasted six days and as a result, on May 22, the jury rendered a verdict of "guilty," with a recommendation to clemency, and the three prisoners were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment.

The Conciliation Bill of 1912 was defeated in the House of Commons in March by 222 noes and 208 ayes; a woman suffrage amendment to the Irish Home Rule Bill, early in November, by an adverse vote of 314 to 141. The National Union of Teachers, at their annual conference, turned down a resolution in favor of woman suffrage, on the ground that the subject should be excluded from their deliberations, by a majority of 13,941.

Our friends and allies of the English National League Opposed to Woman Suffrage can look back upon a very successful year. They now number 267 branches in Great Britain. At a public meeting on February 28 they filled the Albert Memorial Hall with an "earnest and enthusiastic crowd," to quote the President of the League, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, "when there was assembled on the platform such a collection of men of varying political opinions as I believe had never met together on any public occasion before." There were 9,000 people present. That meeting is important to us in three ways; it demonstrated the tremendous weight of public opinion which the English Anti-Suffrage League has brought to bear against the suffragists, and which stands ready to back them up in their work. It should be a matter of pride to all women that the most telling speech of the evening was made by a woman, Miss Violet Markham. One of the other speakers, Lord Loreburn, Ex-Lord Chancellor of England, uttered an axiom of political wisdom, which we may well adopt for our own use in this State:

"It would be a constitutional outrage if woman suffrage were carried into law without the real consent and deliberate demand of the electorate."

Respectfully submitted, Lilian Bayard Taylor Kiliani,
December 10th, 1912. International Secretary.

FINAL RESULT OF MICHIGAN VOTE.

The official recount of the votes cast in Michigan at the November election on the Woman Suffrage question shows that the amendment was defeated by a majority of 760.

EQUALITY OF SUFFRAGE MEANS THE DEBAS EMENT NOT ONLY OF WOMEN BUT OF MEN.

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eral and natural uprising. And hence I pay very little attention to displays of that description.

Burke has well illustrated this thought by a reference to some farm land enclosed by a high fence. A passer-by could hear the chirruping of innumerable grasshoppers which, keeping up a continuous and discordant noise, gave the impression that they were the sole occupants of the field, but looking over the fence into the enclosure one saw a large herd of noble cattle silently grazing upon the pasture and treating with indifference, if not with contempt, the noise made by these ceaseless croakers. The music of bands and the dulcet voices of the oratorical suffragists proclaiming their demands, represent but a small portion of the women in this country; and so far there is no evidence either of preponderating numbers or philosophical or practical arguments in favor of the movement. When these master suffragists are authorized to represent a majority of the women of the land; when they leave the domain of ad captandum argument and come upon the broad ground of social right, the claim to full political equality can be made with greater force.

Coming to the merits of the question, looking it directly in the face, treating it as a relevant, timely issue, I am utterly opposed to granting women the right to vote. But in stating my opposition so positively I wish at the same time to make to its advocates an important concession, one which can and has been disconnectedly used with great effect. It is this: I firmly believe that the participation of women in our elections would in the first stages be beneficial. I believe they would do the right thing. I am convinced that they would with their perennial and overflowing enthusiasm and natural love of right and justice materially check the efforts of low politicians and office-seekers to promote selfish or bad measures. But this would be sporadic, ephemeral and exceptional, and in a little while they would be mixed up with the political parties, and become as bitter partisans, if not more so, than men. It will, besides, take many years to train women to the occupation of politics and in the meantime, as a whole, they would become the dupes and tools of designing politicians of both sexes. Nor can the argument for suffrage rest either upon logical, social or political grounds, for if it can be claimed, as a matter of right, then those who obtain it must also accept its corresponding duties; for example, to act as soldiers; to become a part of the posse comitatus and to assume all of the responsibilities which attach to full citizenship. Else their argument would be a non sequitur.

But the great fundamental objection arises from the physical, moral and natural difference of the two sexes and in the missions which they have to perform in Anglo-Saxon civilization. This aspect of the subject is delicate and although frequently presented is perhaps abstruse—but a little serious reflection, it seems to me, will carry conviction of its absolute truth. The objection mainly rests upon the natural separation of the sexes and the physiological and fundamental reasons which cause it. Any step which impairs the efficiency of a woman to bear children or diminishes her influence as a mother is a direct blow at civilization. Anglo-Saxon society is built upon the integrity and undiminished strength of the domestic relation—with the mother as the distinctive head and inspiration of the moral and physical education of the children—a task demanding most of her time and all of her thought. As a true friend of woman—a much better one than many of those who boisterously demand suffrage—I can see the dire effects of a political commingling of the sexes as plainly as I can discern objects through a pane of undimmed window glass. I am not con-

sidering the present. I am looking into the future and I behold disaster and ruin to both sexes by their political amalgamation. It will not be seen at once—its ravaging work will be slow, but in half a century the political equality of men and women will change the whole basis of social organization and both men and women will become in every way distinctively lowered. The smothered brutality of both sexes will be fanned into a blaze and the results easily imagined. All of the nice and refining barriers which now separate the two sexes will disappear and a common, vulgar and even savage basis of life and intercourse will be established between them. After all the veil of civilization which keeps men and women within decorous bounds is not very thick. A correct analysis of human nature, passions and learning is authority for this view. The profoundest observer of human nature, Bacon, has graphically portrayed the quickness with which human becomes beast nature—he says in speaking of Orpheus' theater "where all beasts and birds assembled and forgetting their several appetites some of prey, some of game, some of quarrel, stood all socially together listening to the airs and accord of the harp, the sound whereof no sooner ceased or was drowned by some louder noise, but every beast returned to its own nature; wherein is aptly described the nature and condition of men who are full of unclaimed desires of profit, of lust, of revenge, which as long as they give ear to precepts to laws to religion sweetly touched with eloquence and persuasion of books of sermons, of harangues, so long is peace and society maintained; but if these instruments be silent or that sedition and tumult make them not audible all things dissolve into anarchy and confusion."

With full political equality and full political responsibility how long will it take to wear off the thin skin which now hides and controls their real natures and the effect produced which Bacon so graphically portrays. Equality in politics distinctively means the debasement not only of women, but of men. One step will lead to another—first suffrage, then office, one barrier after another disappearing and then promiscuous commingling. The women of this age should not undertake to solve this great social problem hastily, nor should they for one moment trust the question to the care and guidance of a few dashing, brilliant women, some of them very young, most of them without any experience in actual life, and all of them relying upon emotion instead of history and philosophy; nor should they follow the counsels of a thoughtless class who handle great social problems with the dexterity of jugglers of glass balls. The question of the bestowal of political suffrage upon women constitutes one of the profoundest which can arise in human government. And answering every question which the suffragists put, in the affirmative, such as, "Are not women intelligent enough to vote? Has not property the right to full protection? Are they not superior to many men who now enjoy suffrage?" I say, answering all of this class of questions in the affirmative, they do not touch the fundamental objection to the affiliation of women in politics, i. e., that nature, human nature, forbids it; real Anglo-Saxon liberty rejects it, and these natural influences cannot be altered any more than the course of the planets can be changed by a fine-spun technical argument. The gains which the suffragists have made are already beginning to produce evil results. Women are fast becoming masculinized. In their dress, habits and speech. Many of them are already loose in their dialect—others are disregarding or abandoning those delicate charms of manner which, while not fundamental or deep, yet, by the respect which they inspire, con-

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Does Change Mean Progress?

"Standing in the way of progress" is the suffragist's characterization of all opposition to "votes for women."

She declares that when the women of the country who see only danger and failure in this enfranchisement of their sex, when they rise and voice their protest against a noisy minority dragging them into politics against their wills,—they are "standing in the way of progress."

They compare the suffrage cause to others which have been opposed at first simply because they represented change; that this change, as were some of those others, is an essential part of progress. And so they assume that every new movement must be one which will be justified in time, accepted, and approved.

There are two things which they do not consider in taking this arbitrary stand.

These are: That there have been other "movements" agitated for a time and proclaimed "the great new thoughts which were to advance the cause of civilization"—and then they died down and were forgotten. And,—that all of the changes which have been adopted have NOT proven to be good for mankind economically, morally, or otherwise.

When the suffragists say the cause of this identification of man's and woman's part in the world is comparable to the movement for higher education for women, don't think that it is inevitably true simply because both are ideas which have not always existed. It may just as well be called comparable to the Utopian idea of English dreamers of the eighteenth century. These ideas you may remember did not work out, were not ultimately approved and adopted by civilization, and would undoubtedly not have worked for the good of the race if they had been.

Mme. Roland was an ardent, sincere woman, with a brilliant mind. She honestly wanted to do the best thing for her country and her people. Those who would deter her from her special political plans and revolutions were accused of "standing in the way of progress." Oh, yes, indeed, that is not a new cry,—and what did her work, her ambition, and her self-sacrifices result in?

She succeeded in placing as goddess of reason a harlot on the throne in the largest cathedral in Paris. Was that progress or was it merely change?

A few years ago, the free silver wave swept over the country. "The time has come when our monetary system must be changed. Progress demands it." That was the cry of the advocates of that dream. Where are the free silver upholders now? There are none. Possibly the monetary system did need a change but that special change was not the one to stand the test of economics. Perhaps there is a change needed in our political system, but we say this particular change is not the one to mean progress.

It will be well for the suffragists to remember before they condemn as absolutely opposed to progress all those who oppose this particular revolution that according to Herbert Spencer and other men generally spoken of as intelligent there is evolution backward as well as forward. And moreover that these same men are authority for the statement that the survival of the fittest is not necessarily the survival of the best. It is merely the survival of those best fitted to endure in their environments. And that the type of woman who finally results from this entire feminist movement if it continues unchecked may be not the best, but the one most fitted to survive in the environment of discontent, political machinations, independence of family, and existence through dominating those about her.

A Dream of Fair Women

A suffragist, recently arrested in England charged with carrying explosives in the hall where Lloyd George spoke was arraigned before the Aberdeen Magistrate and remanded for further examination.

Removing her shoes she threw them full force at the Magistrate. One missed him, the other sailed past his head.

Another party of suffragists waiting for the Chancellor at the railroad station mistook the Rev. Forbes Jackson for their intended victim and lashed the clergyman across the face with a horse whip.—News Item.

One more unfortunate, man of some note,
Rashly objected to let women vote.
So, lovely woman, this man did annoy,
Using a horse whip, nice, feminine toy.

Then a fair damsel, with infinite grace,
Hurled both her shoes at the Magistrate's face;
For she was held on a charge very small,
Taking explosives into lecture hall.

Students of Glasgow, abysmal, vile brutes!
When the fair suffragists gave a few hoots,
Rushed to their quarters, demolished them quite,
Making of things, a deplorable sight.

Man is in rather a difficult place.
Which way he turns, seems to spell him disgrace,
It were unmanly, a woman to strike,
Cowardly, insults and lashings, to like.
Pity that none a prescription can give,
For this disturbance, in which we now live.
Man has suggested, but he is a fool,
Old-fashioned stocks or a nice ducking-stool.

ANNA M. FIELDING.

EQUALITY OF SUFFRAGE MEANS NOT ONLY THE DEBASEMENT OF WOMEN BUT OF MEN.

(Continued from Preceding Page.)

stitute woman's principal defense against attacks upon her virtue or refinement. This question cannot be settled by logical argument because it is so largely sentimental. Political suffrage is and has always been arbitrary. The foibles of women are now her strength. It is astonishing that she deliberately disregards this potent fact and places her claims for suffrage upon grounds of pure technical right. Especially is it astonishing when we know that the whole doctrine of political suffrage is more or less arbitrary. Why, for example, should not all of the young men over 18 claim the right? The schools and colleges are full of students far more capable than many who now enjoy the right. The answer, I repeat, is that suffrage is peculiarly arbitrary.

The advancement and hold which the doctrine of female suffrage has made and maintains in the public mind is due to effective organization. The anti-Suffragists have no organization. They have, as it were, allowed the question to drift. The Suffragists received a powerful set-back in Ohio—they have regained the lost ground in the Presidential election. The friends of anti-suffrage must organize. The movement of female suffrage can no longer be laughed to scorn. It must be seriously and ably opposed and killed by the same weapons which are used to advance it. As between female suffrage and an absolute monarchy or despotism I should unhesitatingly choose the latter. I should for myself rather abandon suffrage than confer it upon women with all of the inevitable and horrible evils which it will engender.

(Pittsburg Leader.)

Why Wage Earning Women Oppose Suffrage

One cry of the suffragists which has been taken up and echoed by them all over this country is "We want the ballot to protect the working girl" and they extend this to include all wage earning women; even those who are in business for themselves need this "privilege of expression" in order to obtain justice rather than "slavery."

The suffragists have not explained in many instances what form that vague "protection" will take nor what sort of "expression" the business woman is seeking.

They have in some instances become so definite as to declare that shorter hours for factory and shop girls, higher wages, and better general working conditions would result from woman suffrage. They have never explained how they could accomplish this when the men have not been able to accomplish such things for themselves by the ballot, and they have not been able to prove such accomplishment in suffrage states. In many instances the national speakers for the suffrage association have made the mistake of declaring that if women voted, eight hour bills for women would be passed, only to discover that they were talking in states where such laws already existed,—passed without the aid of women's votes.

Harry Thomas, secretary of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, said when the fight for an eight-hour law for women was up in Ohio: "We men are going to get this law for ourselves in a short time, BUT OUR ONLY HOPE OF GETTING AN EIGHT HOUR LAW IS TO HAVE THE WOMEN GET IT FIRST."

Now Mr. Thomas is a socialist and as such is an avowed suffragist, and I think from him a confession that the great and—according to the suffragists—all powerful voting class must get its favorable labor legislation through the—according to the suffragists—"poor down-trodden abused non-voting class" is most interesting and enlightening.

Now the fact remains that the suffragists over the country have not been able to arouse the interest in their cause of the business and wage earning women. In Cleveland, Ohio, during the recent campaign there they tried in vain to organize these girls. The girls and women who have entered men's fields in competition with men are not lacking in intelligence nor in a desire to better ourselves. They don't want to be "slaves" any more than any one class would and they know what slavery is as well as do the restless women of leisure who form the greater ranks of the suffragists.

What then is the reason they have failed to respond to the wonderful opportunity offered by the demanders of "votes for women"?

"We women of the more fortunate class, we women of leisure want to protect the working girl," declared a suffragist speaker in Cleveland at a church meeting.

I asked shop girls and stenographers if they could give me light upon the kinds of protection the women could give them.

"The only kind of protection they can give us" said a girl in a ready-to-wear store, "is to be reasonable about their demands made upon us. If they come in here and demand a garment altered to fit them on a few hours notice and threaten to withdraw their patronage from the store,—we are the ones who suffer. If women in their business dealings with us would be—not charitable but reasonable—we would be protected to the fullest. They are able to protect us."

"Don't you suppose I know that if we girls were willing

to organize and stay organized as firmly as do the men," one factory girl asked, "and if we were organized strong enough to make our demands rest on supply and demand—if we could withdraw the supply—and if we could persuade the girls who are working for pin money to agree not to work for less than one of us who are really up against it, don't you think we know that THEN we would be protected and better so than all the women's votes in the world could do for us?"

"We have one source of protection," said another factory girl that would become real protection the minute the women wanted to make it so—and that is the label of the Consumer's League. But how many women—including the most ardent suffragist—will refuse a bargain just because it isn't tagged with that?"

"Why don't I get more wages?" reflected a capable stenographer. "Well, let me think. For one thing, my wages are pretty good, you know. I don't know whether they are as much as I earn or not. But for one thing, the boss learned a few months ago that I was engaged. When it came time for a raise, he didn't give it to me. 'You'll soon be gone,' he said, 'I don't really believe your value to us deserves a raise for these few weeks.'

"He probably thought, too, that I wouldn't work quite so hard when I knew I was going soon. Now, that man over there, he is just about as capable, I suppose, as I, and he announced his engagement about when I did mine. Sure he got his raise; and an extra good one just because he was engaged. The married ones always work harder than ever, you know, so he's worth it to the firm."

"Then another thing,—it's the same old question—girls come pouring out of the business college who just have to buy their own clothes with what they earn and they're around everywhere offering their services for half a living wage. What can you expect?"

There's another reason why the business women don't want the ballot thrust upon them.

"It's bad enough now for a business woman to get along" an insurance woman said. "Competition with strong hustling men isn't the joke these 'economic independent' shouters seem to think it is. But there's one thing we don't have to meet. When I go into a man's office after a policy he doesn't start to talk politics and when he finds out I voted for the other man for city treasurer or didn't vote the Progressive ticket—refuse his business. Oh yes, we do see that sort of thing a lot. There are men who draw a decided line against giving business to a man who has been on the other side politically, especially when it comes to a thing like insurance where we are all offering practically the same business inducement. And the results of my business show that I at least am not handicapped by not being the 'political equal of men.' Look at the prize winners in our business last year? It's a good picture of me, isn't it?"

Now these things which may not seem important to "the more fortunate women" are realized by the wage-earning women, the women who are exerting every atom of their strength in competing with men in the business world, and to them they do seem important.

And so, since the suffragists are unable to show anything they have accomplished for women in the suffrage states which have not been done in non-suffrage states and in many of them done better—and since the working girls and women realize that there is nothing they can do for them, and since moreover, it would only add to the cares and burdens already theirs and would make their business battle harder—it is not surprising that they have not risen in response to the cry of the suffragists that given the vote they would "protect the working girl." —LUCY J. PRICE.

The Actual Situation In California To-day

(Note: Excerpts from a letter from San Francisco, November 30, 1912.)

There are about 1,228,000 men and women eligible to vote in California. Of this number 618,000 are women—being some 8,000 in excess of the male voters. The total vote cast at the November election was 661,464,—but slightly more than one-half of the number entitled to the franchise. It is not possible to say how many of the 661,464 ballots cast were by women, but the proportion is not large.

In San Francisco there are 121,000 possible women voters. Of this number 46,000 registered, and it is estimated that 80 per cent. of those who registered cast a ballot. It is quite probable that this ratio holds good throughout the State.

It is doubtful if the majority of the women who voted are suffragists. In many instances the men urged their women folks to vote because of the extremely partisan character of the campaign.

It is an encouraging fact that the majority of women in California are conservative, and that suffrage is not gaining in popularity. On the contrary there is a distinct reaction against the whole radical program. Governor Johnson will never be re-elected. He certainly will be recalled if there is a valid excuse for such action. The present election muddle has killed the Bull Moose party in California. The suffrage leaders are Roosevelt supporters, but they very soon discovered that the majority of women voters are against Bull Moose tactics.

We are amazed but not gratified to find ourselves held up as examples of what suffrage can do for women. All of the enthusiasm of victory has oozed out of suffrage headquarters long ago. In fact the newly enfranchised citizen is a very subdued and mild mannered woman. She still lives in an atmosphere of silent but frigid protest, and she is hedging wherever she can. She has never been sure of her ground, and now that the tide is running against the new order of things she is apprehensive and watchful.

The granting of the franchise has had a curious effect upon civic club work in the State Federation. Two years ago the California Club was all-powerful. Its leaders were prominent in having suffrage brought into the Federation, and the Club was a center for all activities along suffrage lines. To-day, the New Era League and the Civic Center Organizations have left the California Club out in the cold. The politicians ignore them, and the Panama-Pacific Exposition people turned them down hard in the very beginning. Instead of joy there is gloom among many of the self-appointed welfare workers in this and other communities. The truth of the matter is that the whole reform scheme is over-organized. We have enough organization here to reform the entire world—if the work was high in efficiency. So don't be alarmed at noise and confusion. Let them run around in excited circles; they won't harm anybody but themselves. These uprisings are efficient ways to get rid of surplus energy.

Our women are much like those of Colorado—rather ashamed of the situation, and glad enough to escape comment and criticism. Suffrage is not now and never has been a subject of conversation or of popular approval. It is due to wane considerably more with the overthrow of the Bull Moose party in this state.

So long as woman makes the men of the country, she can afford to let those men make the laws.—*The Book of Woman's Power.*

WOMAN'S power is not for rule, not for battle,—and her intellect is not for invention or creation, but for sweet ordering, arrangement, and decision. She sees the qualities of things, their claims and their places. Her great function is Praise; she enters into no contest, but infallibly adjudges the crown of conquest. By her office and place she is protected from all danger and temptation. The man, in his rough work in the open world, must encounter all peril and trial—to him, therefore, must be the failure, the offense, the inevitable error; often he must be wounded, or subdued; often misled; and always hardened. But, he guards the woman from all this; within his house, as ruled by her, unless she herself has sought it, need enter no danger, no temptation, no cause of error or offense. This is the true nature of home—it is the place of Peace; the shelter not only from all injury but from all terror, doubt and division. In so far as it is not this, it is not home; so far as the anxieties of the outer life penetrate into it, and the inconsistently-minded, unknown, unloved or hostile society of the outer world is allowed by either husband or wife to cross the threshold, it ceases to be home; it is then only a part of the outer world which you have roofed over and lighted a fire in.

John Ruskin,

As quoted in *The Book of Woman's Power.*

A SUFFRAGE FABLE.

The Socialist Fox, sitting under the Suffrage Tree, spoke thus to the bird in its branches: "How marvellously intelligent you are! How superior to foxes morally! I cannot see your plumage but the sound of your voice is enchanting. Make me a speech so that I may learn of your deep wisdom and be convinced." The bird (it was a parrot!) uttered a sharp cry, "Votes for Women!" "Enchanting!" cried the Fox again, thinking to himself, "This is the bird I have long been wanting." So he said to the parrot, "Go and tell the other birds, those that have nests, that I will give them the ballot if they will follow me and sing the song I teach them." So the parrot made many speeches for the Socialist Fox and many other birds left their nests to follow him. And the Socialist Fox hunted no more that season but fed on young birds to his heart's content.

MORAL.—The Socialist Fox can talk a bird off its nest.

J. T. W.

"Higher Wages" and "Purification" Arguments Refuted

That the arguments of the suffragettes given from the highways, private houses, public platforms and even from the pulpit, are the "blustering assertions which go for proof half over the world," has been proven by the constant retreat of the suffragettes from each and every position taken by them, in order to support their demand for the ballot.

We no longer hear much, concerning the high wages, "Votes for Women," was to secure their sex, for the argument did not bear the weight of common sense reasoning. Wages for women will never be increased by woman's possession of the ballot; in fact, they are more likely to suffer decrease by subscriptions to campaign funds, and the added number of women in the outside working field; for the principle of suffragettism is to teach all women to be self-supporting.

The suffragette has clung with most persistency to her argument that "Votes for Women" would purify politics, but the recent exposures of political conditions in Colorado, have rendered this argument valueless, and Mr. Eastman in an address given in New Haven, for the Equal Franchise League, said that women were not expected to purify politics. Nothing proves more conclusively the unreasoning mind of the suffragette, than this last shift of ground. Some few women with not enough to do, and desirous of new entertainment, chanced to think it would gratify their love of excitement and novelty to enter into political life. If they could do so under the pretence of doing good, it would kill two birds with one stone, and satisfy a some time uneasy conscience. In some one of their inspired flash light visions, the catch phrase "purify politics," caught their fancy. It had a good sound and would take. It also sounded well, for it savoured of importance, to use the expression "property rights."

Had the suffragette been capable of depth of thought, she would have looked first at conditions in a state where the purifying process had had ample time to show results, and she would also have informed herself as to laws concerning property rights of women in non-suffrage states, before resorting to such flimsy arguments to attain her end. Colorado politics show anything but purification, and women's property rights are so well guarded, their amelioration would be difficult. She underestimated the minds of women, when she thought all women would be so easily deluded or would wish to usurp a field which is so distinctively man's.

We cannot believe that God did not give man some special work that was his, just as it cannot be denied He has given woman hers. We cannot believe that man should be slave to woman, more than we believe woman should be slave to man. Woman's place in her household is as she makes it. If she chooses it to be one of slavery to her husband and children she has no one to blame but herself. If she has not had and held the respect of husband or son, it is very doubtful if she will gain it through possession of the ballot. The ballot will mean little to man when the responsibility of it is not his, and hence it will scarcely serve her as a means to gain his respect. The suffragette fallaciously appears to think that with the possession of a vote, she can walk into a man's office at any time and demand a hearing; in other words, he will buy her vote by listening to any proposition, no matter how unreasonable. Two suffragettes were very indignant with the Board of Aldermen of a certain city, because they refused to give serious attention to a request that some laws be passed relative to baby farms. On

being asked where the baby farms were, they confessed they could find none, but insisted, nevertheless, some laws should be passed.

Because of their failure to arouse enthusiasm upon the subject they are redoubling their exertions for the vote, in order not to meet again with an ignominious reception. One of them is preparing via divorce court, to be a suffragette leader as soon as the desired freedom from household duties is hers. She says she believes in suffragettism, but whether she did or not, she would go into it for the good fat salary they are willing to pay her, because she is young and attractive and the suffragette cause needs young and attractive women.

The anti-suffrage women are accused by the suffragettes of being narrow, unintelligent, and lacking in breadth of brain sufficient to comprehend the superior wisdom of the suffragettes. Dr. Mary Coolidge characterizes the women of the past century as hyper-feminine and naturally includes those of to-day who are not so advanced as to believe in the ballot for women. She says the women of to-day (meaning the suffragette women, of course), are the result of natural transition to well balanced womanhood, the English suffragettes being illustrative of completed transition. Mr. Max Eastman's statement that, "No woman is fit to bring children into the world, who has not had the experience of the world and its broadening teachings," is an insult. The women who brought into the world and reared, the men, who have added to the honor and glory of our nation, and the women of to-day who are educating their sons to be the future honor men of the nation, for every boy should be educated to know that he is personally responsible for the honor of his country, are, according to Dr. Mary Coolidge and Mr. Max Eastman, specimens of hyper-femininity and unfit to "produce children," because they believe in broadening their education through the broadest of all broadening influences, wifehood and motherhood and not from that most undesirable of all influences, political life.

Mr. Max Eastman being a Socialist, and a woman suffrage plank always having been a part of the Socialist platform, naturally advocates woman suffrage, but we would like to have him state specifically if the women of Denver, are more intelligent, intellectually broader, and better mothers than are the women in non-suffrage states?

If "Votes for Women," have the power of producing the perfect child, and the children born under the beneficent influences of equal suffrage are superior to those brought into the world without the benefit of these wonderful influences, why is it that Judge Ben Lindsay and his Juvenile Court are still needed in Denver? And that juvenile crime has steadily increased there?

The dropping of a piece of paper into the ballot box, as a means to one's education, is so simple a process that five years of intelligence so easily gained should have made marked improvement in the women of Denver, and twenty years should have rendered totally unnecessary a Juvenile Court. The State Reform Schools should be nearly ready for their last graduation classes, and the prisons should soon contain only old age tenants.

Mr. Eastman also says "Equality of politics will make equality of morals." This probably accounts for the advanced conditions in Denver.

EMMA LOUISE STREET.

New Haven, Conn.

Mr. Lansbury is reported to have expressed in the course of conversation the opinion that one of the causes of his defeat was the Anti-Suffragist poster—"Women do NOT want the Vote."

The Anti-Suffrage Review,

December, 1912.

Laws of Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States Compared

COLORADO.

1. Forbidding the insuring of lives of children under ten years of age.
2. Establishing a home for dependent children, two of the five members of the Board of Control to be women.
3. Requiring three of the six members of the county visitors to be women.
4. Making mothers joint guardians of their children with the father.
5. Raising the age of protection for girls to 18 years.
6. Requiring one woman physician on the board of insane asylums.
7. Establishing parallel schools.
8. Making Humane Society State Bureau for child and woman protection.
9. Establishing Juvenile Courts.
10. Compulsory education with certain questionable exemptions.
11. No mention.
12. Fathers and mothers joint heirs of child.
13. Establishing traveling libraries.
14. Employing children under 14 in smelter, etc., punishable by imprisonment.
15. Requiring joint signature of husband and wife to every chattel mortgage, sale of homestead, etc.

NEW JERSEY.

1. Law limits amount for which minor children may be insured by person liable for support of such minor children.
2. State Home for Feeble Minded Children, with Board of twelve women visitors; also Home for Feeble Minded Women. Three women on board of managers. Woman physician is supervisor and medical director.
3. State Tuberculosis Commission consists of three women and two men. Women's Reformatory Commission, four women and two men.
4. Court of Chancery decides between father and mother as to guardianship of children. Husband is liable for support of both wife and children.
5. Age of consent for girls, 16. Seduction under promise of marriage by male over 18 of female under 21, is a high misdemeanor.
6. No provision.
7. No provision.
8. State Board established for protection of children.
9. Establishing Juvenile Courts.
10. Compulsory education without harmful exemptions.
11. Industrial education.
12. Fathers and mothers are heirs of children.
13. Traveling libraries.
14. No boy under 12 and no girl under 14 can be employed in any factory. Compulsory education of those employed between 12 and 15.
15. Signature and acknowledgement of husband and wife required for chattel mortgages covering household effects. Consent of wife is necessary to make valid assignment of future wages.
16. Making it a criminal offense to contribute to the delinquency of a child. Parents being made responsible but no proof of age is required other than the affidavit of parent or guardian.
17. Making it a misdemeanor to fail to support aged or infirm parents.
18. Abolishing the system of binding out girls committed to Industrial Schools.
19. No mention.
20. No mention.
21. No mention.
22. No mention.
23. No mention.
24. No mention.
25. No mention.
26. No mention.
27. No mention.
28. No mention.
29. No mention.
30. Women have equal suffrage.
16. Making it a criminal offense to contribute to the delinquency of a child.
17. Children required to support aged or infirm parents. Drastic punishment provided.
18. No system of binding out girls.
19. Wife's separate income and property exempt from all debts of husband.
20. Insurance money left to wife by husband is exempt from debts of husband.
21. Gives action to guardian of habitual drunkard for sale of liquor, after notice. Also gives action to a "board of protectors," after notice, and a further right to revoke license.
22. Wife may administer husband's estate.
23. Right of action by wife for death of husband by negligence of another. Action may be brought by widow as Executrix or Administratrix of the estate. The amount recovered is for exclusive benefit of widow and next of kin.
24. State Board of Children's Guardians at least 2 women members.
25. Wife has absolute control of her separate property.
26. Law provides for three women factory inspectors.
27. "State Home for Girls," 5 women trustees.
28. State Home for Boys.
29. State Village for Epileptics.
30. Women vote at any annual or special school meeting of the legal voters, for any purpose other than the election of members of Board of Education, and are eligible for appointment as notaries public, masters in chancery, lawyers, etc.

Suffrage Carried By Minority

It is curious that the friends of Woman Suffrage never attribute their defeats to the real cause, which is that neither the majority of men nor of women want it.

As a matter of fact, whenever Woman Suffrage has succeeded it has been through the neglect of the voters to register and vote against it.

This was true in Colorado in 1893, when only 62,000 voters out of a possible electorate of approximately 200,000 voted on the subject and gave the measure a majority of 6,000. It was true in Washington in 1910, when out of electorate of 300,000 only 83,000 voted and of these some 52,000 voted yes. One vote out of every six wrote Woman Suffrage on the statute books of Washington. It was true in California in 1911, when the measure carried in that state although the number voting yes was 2,000 less than Mr. Bryan's vote in 1900, when he was defeated by 90,000 majority. This fact is further emphasized by the results of a preferential vote on the subject in Chicago last spring. The presidential primaries had brought out a large vote and in every ward in the city Woman Suffrage was overwhelmingly defeated, the majorities against ranging from 2 to 1, to 2½ to 1.

In Miss Jane Addams' ward, where the suffragists expected to sweep everything, the number voting in favor was 1,152 and the number voting against 2,495. The suffragists professed to be satisfied and the anti-suffragists were more than satisfied, and the latter at least will always welcome like victories.

There is no question that only a small minority of women desire the chance to vote. In February of last year Miss Jessie Ashley, Secretary of the National Suffrage Association, estimated that the number of American women who sympathized with the movement was 3,000,000. Since the number of women of voting age (although Miss Ashley doesn't confine her figures to women of voting age) is something like 24,000,000 it can readily be seen that not over 12% of the women of voting age are even sympathetically allied to the suffrage cause.

The suffragists are bad losers and always meet every defeat with recriminations, rather than a frank acknowledgment of facts.

To-day, in many departments of administration of the state, the presence and the counsel of wise and good women is in the highest degree important. The danger is that if women should appear advocating public measures, being at the same time themselves identified with political factions, their personal influence would surely be diminished, and not increased. So long as woman now is recognized as interested in any matter of public welfare, the very fact that she is unselfish in her advocacy and has no private interests to gain, gives her a power that would disappear, were her political condition to be altered.—Henry A. Stimson, quoted in *The Book of Woman's Power*.

One amusing thing in the suffragist's attitude is the insistence upon special privilege laws for working women on the ground that they are not so strong and able to endure as are men and that because they are the mothers of the race it is more necessary not to destroy what strength they have, and then their objections to these women refusing to take still other burdens upon themselves.

"Miss Price will come before you as a self-supporting woman," said a suffragist speaking against me at a Cleveland meeting.

"She will ask, as such, to be relieved of the burden of the ballot. Does the hard-working man ask to be relieved of the burden of the ballot?"

Neither has the man asked to be relieved of night work or various other burdens from which the women have asked relief,—and rightly.

—Lucy J. Price.

Politics are not economics. Economics are not politics. The law of supply and demand works right along, independent of elections. One single, simple fact knocks the ground clean from under the argument that votes determine wages. In the panic year the workingman's wages came down and thousands of workingmen were out of employment on our streets. Yet they each had a vote. In the panic year the wages of cooks and housemaids did not come down. No unemployed maids were seeking jobs from house to house in vain. Yet not one cook or housemaid had a vote. The reason was economic.—Priscilla Leonard, quoted in *The Book of Woman's Power*.

Pilgrims Past and Present

By Anna M. Fielding

Brave Pilgrims in the days of old
Met hardships, dangers, manifold,
As savage man and beast they fought,
A clearing, for their homes they sought.

And uncomplaining, side by side,
Bound fast by cords, devotion tied,
The men and women builded well;
Wrung from the wilds, a place to dwell.

But Pilgrims now, well advertised,
Sometimes admired, oft criticized,
Start out with staff and scrip and drum.
A motley crowd cheers as they come.

The officers have staffs with bark
To aid their amble on this lark.
The staffs of rank and file appear,
Like broom-handles of yester-year.

A faithful mascot they will take
To help a good impression make;
For sweeter canine ne'er drew breath
Than suffrage dog, Elizabeth.

And through ten thousand rods of snow
Behold the valiant army go.
They shun all hardship 'tis confessed,
Hotels will serve them with the best.

Mere men will ridicule their trip,
And treat it with a quirk and quip,
Who call it a "sensational hike"
Our Suffrage Pilgrims do not like.

Fresh peanuts will be munch'd, as they
Trudge gravely, bravely, on their way;
But as to Albany they roam,
Who's taking care of "Home Sweet Home"?

The Crowing Hens

By "Aristophanes"

While walking out the other day
I toward the hen house took my way;
And drawing near it heard a voice
Screaming and shrill insistent noise
And making such unusual clatter
I wondered what could be the matter.
Then peeping through some palings
high
A curious vision met my eye.
A stranger hen on auto seat
Was calling to my flock to meet
Around her motor, from which station
She wished to make them an oration.
So I who have always lived among
the fowls and understand their tongue
Decided that I too would stay,
And this is what I heard her say.

"Down-trodden hens! Arouse, awake!
And one united effort make
To let the tyrant roosters know
That hens must have the right to crow!
Too long we've all been made to feel
The pressure of the despot's heel;
Mere roosters,—who for selfish ends
Refuse all justice to the hens.
The tyrant's grip is never loosed,
In everything they rule the roost.
Our shoulders wince beneath their
stroke
In every egg we bear their yoke.
While they strut round on lordly legs
We are sent indoors to hatch the eggs;
Then, on the little chicks appearing,
They throw on us the task of rearing.
And more and more oppressive growing
They, worst of all, forbid our crowing!

"This crowning outrage indicates
That we are not their equal mates;
That in that right we must not dare
To claim with them a common share.
They meanly say we cannot do it,
Our lungs are not adapted to it,
And such like stuff; a mere pretense,
Not based on facts or common sense!
They know that in a screaming bout
One hen can knock ten roosters out.
So find it safer to decry us
Than in a vocal match to try us.

"The real truth is that through the crow
They've put and keep us down so low.
Like Samson's hair it gives them powers
Which if we had it, would be ours.
And so to get that vital thing
We've thrown our hats into the ring!
When hens shall crow to beat the band
Then we will get the upper hand,
Then we'll lay down the poultry law
And make the roosters stop their jaw.
All things will then begin to hum,
And bring a hen's millenium!

"Oh, biddies! When with mental eye
That glorious future I descry,
My soul expands! My bosom swells!
Great things for hens the sight foretells!
We'll be relieved of half our care
While roosters do their equal share.

Or to explain with more precision,
This would, we think, be a fair division,
Each half with each exactly matching;
We'll lay the eggs, they'll do the hatch-
ing,

Then while they feed and tend the chicks
We'll do their work in politics;
Aud caucus hold with high debate
On splitting votes and voting straight.
And which of the candidates we'll boost
For the best places on the roost;
The roosters to attend the election
And crow their choice under our direc-
tion;

For 'Equal Rights,' our sacred creed,
Must honored be in words and deed.

"When hens shall crow! These halcyon
times

Will know no troubles and no crimes.
All ills will vanish while you wait;
We'll simply wipe them off the slate.
No fox, or cruel hawk by day
Will seize our little chicks for prey.
No stealthy thief at midnight prowls
Intent on doing murder foul.
No cook will ever seek the coop
To put its inmates in the soup.
No hen-pecked rooster will protest,
For all will see 'tis for the best.
Then hens arrayed in stylish feather
Each with her set, will flock together;
And through the happy live-long days
Will cackle news, and crow their lays.

"Well, biddies! Now a final word
By which let all your hearts be stirred!
'The crow for hens!' Take up that cry!
Blaze it on banners low and high!
On churches, dwellings, barns and halls,
On autos, fences, posts and walls!
At every chance, in every place
Fling it in everybody's face!
Shout it, spout it, preach it, screech it,
Call it, bawl it, talk it, squawk it,
Tell it, yell it, howl it, growl it,
Speak it, shriek it, peal it, squeal it!
O'er hills and plains, through roads and
lanes

Go it and blow it, and hoot it and toot it!
Use all your brains and spare no panes,
Nor sticks, nor kicks, nor needed bricks,
To make all doubting roosters know
That hens may safely have the crow;
Since what they seek with noise and riot
'Tis clear they'll use in peace and quiet.

"Now, one and all, my suffering friends
Step up and join The Crowing Hens!"
She ceased, and found herself alone,
For every blessed hen was gone;
And clucking to her infant brood
Was scratching gravel for their food.

New Haven, December 2, 1912.

"SUFFRAGE HAS SET BACK TEMPERANCE CAUSE 25 YEARS."

Excerpts from a Letter by Bessie Royce
Spring to the Easton, Md., Gazette.

Dr. Clarence True Wilson, a leading
temperance speaker, in the Portland,
Oregon, Telegram says:

"As a prohibition advocate, I am con-
sistent in opposing suffrage for women
because no state has adopted woman's
suffrage without setting back the tem-
perance cause 25 years.

"I have been over these states recent-
ly and have never found a temperance
man who is not disappointed at the re-
sult of votes for women."

"Los Angeles, when men voted two
years ago, nearly went dry. Now, with
women enfranchised and with 2000 more
women than men voting, the saloon has
14,000 majority; also the town of Pas-
adena, which was dry through its entire
history, goes wet with the coming of
women voters."

The evils of intemperance and white
slavery are as old as the history of the
world, and anti-suffragists are a unit
with suffragists in their desire for the
abolition of these deadly evils. But to
promise that they will vanish with the
coming of the woman voter is futile and
misleading. When they clean house in
Denver and Salt Lake City then we of
the opposition will begin to see a ful-
fillment.

The truth is that vice cannot be re-
formed by votes. Our statute books are
filled with excellent laws which fail of
enforcement. The remedy lies in the
betterment of the home and in the
strengthening of its influence. The
drunken boy and the wanton girl are
not generally the product of a careful
home training.

Cease to preach the doctrine of "finan-
cial independence" to girls when it is
not necessary. In many cases it is neces-
sary, which is regrettable.

The crying need of the moment, espe-
cially in the country, is for the daughter
to remain at home; she is drawn to the
town as the moth to the candle. She
works in offices, she sells over the
counters and in some sad instances she
walks the Great White Way.

In a somewhat extensive reading of
suffrage literature I have failed to find
that the drift of its teaching and influ-
ence is towards keeping the woman in
her home; on the contrary the ideal held
out by them is that the woman should
become the doer of man's work, and too
often the underbidder and usurper of
his job.

THE OBLIGATION OF JURY DUTY.

In the States where women vote the impaneling of women on juries has brought about many embarrassing situations, and the undesirability of this phase of the suffrage question is already manifest.

In California the Attorney-General has ruled that women cannot serve as jurors in that State, and bases his ruling upon the common law which designates that a jury shall consist of "twelve free and lawful men;" and in Kansas a judge has held it "ungallant" to allow women to be impaneled in certain cases.

Such rulings as these, however, are only begging the question and at most can be but temporary. In California the law defining the personnel of juries was enacted when men alone could vote, but with a change in the electorate, other amendments to the constitution must result, so as to bring women voters under the same regulations covering the voting of men.

It is true some of the newly enfranchised are already asking for immunity from the "obligations" of the suffrage, but this is impossible and impracticable.

In this whole question of woman suffrage there is only one assumption upon which it is reasonable to proceed and that is if women are given the franchise their political activity cannot end with the vote but will extend over the whole political sphere, just as the activities of men do now. To excuse or exempt women voters from serving on juries because they are women is anomalous. If women are to receive votes because men have got them they must eventually receive them on the same technical qualifications as men do. It is only fair to the suffragists to say that this is also the general opinion of the leaders of the movement, especially with reference to jury duty, no matter how much they may balk at the poll tax and kindred obligations. Many suffragists welcome the opportunity of jury service; some because of the "easy money," as one leader avers; some, no doubt, because of the chance to feed a morbid desire for the unconventional and sensational; and some because it promises another step in the so-called emancipation of their sex and their speedy introduction to a "man's kingdom." The consensus of opinion of the suffragists seems to be that conceding the ballot to women means the same political obligations and duties with men and this is the view which we, as Anti-Suffragists, have always maintained. It is not only the logical view but will be the inevitable result, and any man who views with distaste the enforced participation of his own wife and mother in the onerous and disagreeable burdens of jury

duty, should realize that the first step toward that undesirable consummation—the step that counts—is the granting of the ballot to women, for any limitation after that is purely fanciful and wholly illogical and cannot be long preserved against the demands of those who clamor for the "revolutionary change."

Jury service for women will have unpleasant features which are inevitable, and any consideration of the practical results serves to emphasize the absurdities into which Woman Suffrage will betray us.

In Seattle last winter they were trying a man for murder and there was one woman on the jury. During the trial the jury were not permitted to separate and at night a screen was set up in the room and the woman juror with a woman bailiff, slept there. These violations of the decencies and conventions of life are naturally shocking to us now. It is doubtful if we would be shocked by it after ten years of these "rights and privileges" of Woman Suffrage.

A negress, Dorothy Coates, drawn on jury duty in Spokane, is probably the first woman of her race to be called to such service.

In Kansas a jury of women asked the presiding Judge for permission to go home to get dinner. The request was, of course, refused, but when the dinner hour arrived the women, taking advantage of the privilege of their sex, arose and pinned on their hats and marched away. Under like circumstances men would have been placed under arrest.

IDA TARRELL'S REASONS.

"My two real objections to 'Votes for Women' are as follows:

"First: That I fear suffrage will take the attention of women from what I believe to be their real civic duties, by interesting them in the political game, when they should be concentrating their attention on specific civic work.

"Second: I believe that universal male suffrage is still so far from being what it should be, that it is unwise to double its evils just at present, as we certainly should by extending the vote to all women. In some respects certain evils of the ballot would be more than doubled. I am far from denying that good might result in some ways, but in my judgment it is more than counterbalanced by the harm that would come."

—Ida M. Tarbell, quoted in *The Book of Woman's Power*.

SUFFRAGISTS PAINT HEAD-QUARTERS.

"What we need to wear is trousers," remarked Mrs. Sadie KreNo. 227 West Eighty-fifth touches on the front of the Votes-for-Women club house at mer as she put the fifth street, New York. "And we have decided to adopt Mrs. Carrie C. Catt's idea of a bifurcated costume to finish this job."

"But our trousers won't be Chinese," Mrs. Kremer added. "Not that we object to those stunning silk garments, but you see they wouldn't be practical for our work. We have talked it over with a boss painter, and he says overalls are the only thing. We can't climb tall ladders to paint around the eaves, so half a dozen of us will don the working-man's garb and show what women can do in the house painting line."

By Anna M. Fielding.

High up in the air they're swinging;
Paint, with brushes, they are slinging,
While the air to them is bringing,
Bringing cheers from down below
To encourage them, you know.

Still they have some inward quaking;
And their finger tips are aching,
With the effort they are making;
Making, showing men that they
Can compete in every way.

See the passers-by are smiling
At the women, their time whiling
On a ladder, and thus riling;
Riling men, who wish to paint,
Not to pose as objects quaint.

As they work the paint is spattering;
All the pots and brushes clattering;
And their pearly teeth are chattering,
Chattering with the air so chill,
It will surely make them ill.

While they are so well acquainting
Themselves with the art of painting;
Let us hope there'll be no fainting,
Fainting on a ladder tall,
Looks like "Pride before a fall."

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS WIN DEBATE

The first real debate on the question of woman suffrage in the State of Missouri was held between the St. Louis German Epworth League Union and The Equal Suffrage League, December 12. The debate was held in the Eden M. E. Church, St. Louis. Hon. John H. Gundlach, President of the City Council presided. The Judges were Judge J. Hugo Grimm, Mr. Julius Haller and Mr. George H. Schelp and the debaters, 1st Affirmative, Mrs. John Livingston Lowes; 1st Negative, Mr. Herman L. Schaefer; 2nd Affirmative, Miss Jessie Lansing Moller, 2nd Negative, Mr. Oscar A. Knehans, Affirmative Rebuttal, Miss Jessie Lansing Moller.

Both Judges and Audience decided against Woman Suffrage. About 400 persons were present, 294 voted, out of these 162 voted for the negative and 132 for the affirmative.

This Debate brought out clearly, that from a view point of common sense and plain arguments, Woman's Suffrage has nothing substantial to stand upon.

LORD CURZON'S VIEWS ON THE MILITANT SUFFRAGISTS.

A reference to the people seems to be the last thing that the advocates of Female Suffrage are willing to accept. They shiver at the very idea of a referendum. They are trying at the present moment, by bargaining and negotiating with the different parties in the House of Commons, to wrest from a harassed and distracted Parliament a decision favourable to their views. They are willing to take a verdict in the present House of Commons because they think there is a chance of that verdict being in their favour, but they are not willing to take a verdict from the men in the country, by whom the men in the House of Commons are returned, because they think it will be against them. And this leads me to say a word or two, which I hope will not cause offence, about a subject concerning which I do not think we should be altogether silent, and that is the tactics which are being pursued by the leading spirits in the Suffragist party. They may say that they are the best judges of the methods by which to play their own game. That is so, but they are not the sole judges. They are appealing to the public, and the public are entitled to form an opinion upon the matter. My own opinion is that these tactics reflect very little credit upon the sense of those who practise them, that they are in some cases an insult to the sex to which these ladies belong—while I am perfectly certain that they disgust and alienate a large proportion of the electorate. When you have women, however excellent their intentions, hiding in organ pipes, slapping Ministers in the face, breaking windows and setting fire to post boxes and theatres, one might comment ad nauseam upon the stupidity and vulgarity of the performer. I do not wish to do that, but I prefer rather to look upon these demonstrations in the light they throw upon the political capacity of those who undertake them. Just look at the chain of reasoning which seems to be adopted. Because force has sometimes been successfully employed, even though illegitimately employed, by determined and exasperated men, these women seem to think that by these displays of puerile violence they can bring the nation to its knees. They do not see that it is one thing for fighting men to threaten force, which they are in a position to exert, if they choose, and another thing for hysterical women to behave like hooligans in the street. Again, because a few women think that they are personally fit to exercise the vote and ought to be given it, they conceive they are at liberty to at-

tack the property, to outrage the feelings, and insult the persons of those who do not happen to agree with them. They go even further. They do not merely smash the windows of their recognized opponents. They smash the windows of innocent people who have nothing whatever to do with their movement, and by this vicarious revenge, which it would be impossible to designate even by the word *childish*, they think they are going to impress the people of England. And then a stage further. When they are caught and punished they remember that they are women, and they claim an exemption which would not be conceded to men. They do the deed, but they are not prepared to suffer the consequences of the deed.

They break the law, and when the law is applied to them they ask that it should be over-ridden in their own behalf. It is all the equality of the sexes—up to a certain point. But when the equality of the sexes is made a source of inconvenience or even of pain to themselves, then it is entirely forgotten, and they ask that preferential treatment should be meted out to them alone.—(English Anti-Suffrage Review, December, 1912).

WINDOW SMASHING TOO TAME.

At the suffrage convention in Philadelphia on November 21, Harriet May Mills, of New York, is quoted as saying that many persons looked on the women who were fighting for equal suffrage as "Carrie Nations," going about with hatchets smashing windows. She added: "I never smashed a window in my life, but if you don't free us women we will show you that we will do worse than this to gain our rights, and we will vote in New York in 1916."

Now it is evident that wages being the price paid for labor, the rate of wages must, like the price of all other commodities, vary according to the changes in the market. If the supply of laborers outstrips the demand, wages will fall; if the demand exceeds the supply, they will rise. Supposing, therefore, that in any country there is a given amount of wealth to be divided between employers and work-men, every increase in the number of work-men will tend to lessen the average reward each can receive.—Henry T. Buckle, as quoted in *The Book of Woman's Power*.

The shop girl who wrote to *The New York Times* to ask how, when Messrs. Mitchell and Gompers reported five million voting men out of employment, could working women hope to gain any-

THIS LAWYER SEES THINGS AS THEY ARE.

The following letter from a New York attorney who was a delegate to the Republican State Convention held this fall in Saratoga, is one of the many encouraging communications received at the headquarters and by the members of the Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

We believe this letter expresses the attitude and beliefs of the great majority of men and women who are rising to protest against the efforts to undo the work of centuries which have given the American woman, especially, her peculiar and splendid position,—a position which enables her to stand impartially for the best things in life and to help the race toward acquiring these things.

This is his letter:

"When I voted at Saratoga against the Woman Suffrage proposition, I was actuated solely by the desire to help to maintain the dignity of and the respect for womanhood. While I was not unfamiliar with the arguments for and against this suggested innovation, yet your splendid opposing argument before the Committee on Resolutions strengthened my views and confirmed my previous attitude as to the infeasibility and unwise of the proposed extension of the right of suffrage.

"I am heartily in favor of every progressive measure designed for the elevation of womanhood to the highest plane of dignity and respectability, the attainment of a greater degree of happiness and moral welfare, the amelioration and betterment of the condition of the poor and working woman, and the exercise and enjoyment, as far as may be compatible with the peculiar duties and obligations of her sex, of the same rights and privileges as man, but I do not believe that the granting of suffrage is the proper means by which these objects can be successfully accomplished. Therefore, I am opposed to Woman Suffrage not only because the majority of women are totally indifferent to the whole question, as you very correctly say, but also, because in principle it is fundamentally wrong, and if enacted, will, in my opinion, be fraught with grave danger to existing institutions, detrimental to society in general, and injurious to woman in particular.

"With assurances of my best wishes in the noble work in which you and your association are engaged, believe me to be,

Yours very respectfully,"

thing from the suffrage, is still unanswered.—Mary Dean Adams, Investigator, State Immigration Committee.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The female politician is more deadly than the male.

The only women who could possibly help by their votes are those who accept duty, and these are generally too busy.

In the last 40 years, the English divorce rate has tripled. The suffragettes have accomplished something in England if they have not succeeded in obtaining extension of suffrage.

The New York Sun, which the suffragists claim as one of their supporters, says editorially in the issue of Dec. 6:

"We hope that the students of the University of Glasgow are not going to be as rowdy as the suffragettes."

When those depraved Antis who are "allied with the liquor interests" get the vote, how awful things will be! Think of a majority of eighty per cent. in a state like Ohio all voting in favor of saloons and white slavery. The Suffragists ought rigidly to exclude such a class from the ballot.

Gov.-elect George H. Hodges, of Kansas, has announced that, since the men of Kansas have granted suffrage to the women, he shall give the women their share of state offices.

Will the suffragists still contend that "votes for women" means only fifteen minutes a year, the time needed to drop a vote into the ballot box?

"I consider that I would be perfectly justified in holding a political office," a suffragist said to us recently, "even if it did take me away from my family all day. I have two children and I have been in business for several years which took me away a considerable part of the day, so that I have really seen them very little. And they are both well and have proven that they can get along without me."

"Do you think, though," we asked her, "that their childhoods have been as happy as they would have been with you with them as most mothers are with their children?"

"No, I don't suppose they have. They often say they haven't been. But I consider that quite beside the question," was her remarkable response.

The suffragists in Washington, D. C., have planned a "votes for women" section in the Wilson inaugural parade on March 4. The special feature of the parade will be a "sweet sixteen squad" consisting of the young and pretty girls of the capital who can be persuaded to join. The suffragists predict this squad will captivate thousands.

Which is this,—"putting our politics upon a higher plane" or "protecting the young girls of the country"?

The Ohio women suffragists announced previous to the election on the suffrage question held there in September that if they should be defeated they would immediately begin a campaign for a referendum election on the subject to be held in November, 1913. After the election and their defeat by 90,000 they decided it was impossible to overcome such sentiment as that in one year and so they have postponed the date of their intended election to November, 1914.

"Ah, women, if you knew how without abandoning, habitually at least, the calm sway of your interior domain, you could by your actions on your sons and husbands exercise your influence on the outside world work for social and international peace. You would change the world and you would do more for the happiness and the honor of our unfortunate Societies than all the combinations of great politicians and all the pretensions of the so-called reformers who sow around them discord and hatred."—Frederic Passy, the late French apostle of peace.

This advice to English women from California shows the right spirit:

The women of England ought to smash every window in the Empire, daub every official with tar from head to foot, break up every meeting, blockade every street, and spike the wheels of all governmental machinery till they get what they ought to have had from the beginning. They are not asking for a favor, but are demanding a right, and they are under no obligations to be timid or gentle in their demands. If England doesn't like it; let her overcome her Johnbullheadedness and do the fair thing by her women.—Colusa Herald (California).

Now, after all, is there anything more safe and sane than a suffragette?

The fruit dealers are learning from the Housewives' League the practical method of reducing the high cost of living. Waiting for the politicians to do it is like waiting for the Ethiop to change his skin or a man to add a cubit to his stature. Housewives having refused to buy fruit at present high prices, the fruit dealers refused to pay an added cost of cartage. No fruit was sold for no purchasers were found. Thus the "rat begins to gnaw the rope, the rope begins to hang the butcher, the butcher begins to kill the ox, etc., and the result follows "The old woman got home that night."

"We are going to clean up politics and pass remedial legislation," shout the suffragists.

Whom do they mean by "We"?

If they mean the women of their own organization,—the active workers for their cause,—they are ignoring the obvious fact that they are in a small minority and can do nothing alone when it comes to voting for men or measures. Moreover, the various disagreements in their ranks prove that they would not vote together nor agree as to what "remedial legislation" might be.

If they mean the whole mass of women, they are promising something beyond their rights. They have no way of knowing how the mass of women will vote, they have never asked them, nor made any effort to discover. They have no right to promise to deliver a body of votes for any cause however good unless they have reason for believing those votes will be theirs to deliver.

SOME ANTI-SUFFRAGE "NEVERS"

At the annual luncheon of The New York State Association opposed to Woman Suffrage at Sherry's, November 19, the members pledged themselves to do certain positive things that will leave no doubt as to where they, and the majority of women, stand on the suffrage question.

One of these things is never to say, or to pass unchallenged, the assertion that "Suffrage is sure to come." Should this be neglected they themselves would be furthering the imposition of the vote upon women.

Another thing they pledged is never to miss an opportunity to let men know that they are opposed to suffrage.

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED
TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE
FOUNDED 1895

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary at the office of the Association, 35 West 39th Street, New York City.

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BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

On Suffrage (0.5)	G. K. Chesterton
Votes for Women (.10)	Frederic Harrison
The Ladies Battle (\$1.00)	Molly Eliot Seawell
Book of Woman's Power (\$1.25)	
Anti-Suffrage? Ten Good Reasons (50c.)	Grace Duffield Goodwin
Woman and the Republic (25c.)	Mrs. Rossiter Johnson
Anti-Suffrage Calendar for 1911, with many interesting quotations. These can be obtained by applying to the Woman's Protest.	

We recommend to our readers the new Monthly, *THE COMMON CAUSE*, which is opposed to Socialism. Subscription \$2.00. Office, 154 East 23rd Street. Also, *THE HOME DEFENDER*, Hoquiam, Wash.

Some pamphlets issued by the Massachusetts Association opposed to the further extension of suffrage to women:

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